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Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Minatogawa area is typical. Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

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In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

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Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

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In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

Rotation #2, Matsuda

First year, ninth month; Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month; Harvest of sugar cane. Followed
by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hara, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hara is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most



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Agricultural Tools

From front to rear:

The hara, a spatula or trowel
The kama, a small sickle
A small sharp pointed hoe
The futamata, a two pronged hoe
The mitsumata, a three pronged hoe
The kuwa, the all purpose hoe
Another hoe, long handled
A heart shaped hoe
A common rake
A hand rice cultivator (propped up
in back)
An ordinary pitchfork

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, ~~crush~~, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kusa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [43A]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki)

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

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The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221
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[805]
[114]

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

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[415] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the women sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[82A] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[127] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

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[412] There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes. There are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

[462] In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the village still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigone (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochinai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express.

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes.

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet.

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting. Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil.

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months.

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32.

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds.

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kana), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakata, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama).

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant.

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).¹⁰ Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils.

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan.

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 teubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 teubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

¹⁰ Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)

Tea
All no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

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Soft Drinks and Candy

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum

Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

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[272]

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimono
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[272]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[278]

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There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, 513
the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since
the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three
members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always
sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them.
When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the
father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an
older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in
another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with
younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and
an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually
sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school
age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep to-
gether at one house.

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to 352
school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large
houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren
of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are 353
kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their
"first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the
war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many
families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and news-
papers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown
Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan.

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper 342
screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on 356
before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not
last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in
trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of
the year.

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where 342
most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An 264
informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in 354
the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide
heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest
families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use
pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal.

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage oc- 415
curs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the
grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups,
which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but
it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and [412]
inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do

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of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit. ^{only two} 226
[166]

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment. 226
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[262]

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyuan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning. 313
[423]
[651]
[185]
[423]
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Men and women, and during vacations, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife. [957]
[487]
[412]

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- 313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
• [412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the vil-
lage. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—
two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they
sit down along the road, in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform
bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle
by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household
works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles,
and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into
money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to
a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bath-
houses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood
to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so
popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with
decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

- 463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive
part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn
their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in
the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time
resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house
building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice
crop and the New Year.
463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend
Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season,
they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively.

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For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinacy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!"

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As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful.

[853]

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[415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-mel" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and

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[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

[412] Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadaki-masu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of
866 the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

488 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

- 857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.
- [364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.
- 857 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults
241 to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.
- 855 Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like
[412] knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.
- 852 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they
855 make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the
527 whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.
- 868 Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watch-
535 ing or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister,
[872] or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and with-⁸⁶⁸
out a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries [283]
again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As
she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished
rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground,
waving her rope in the air.

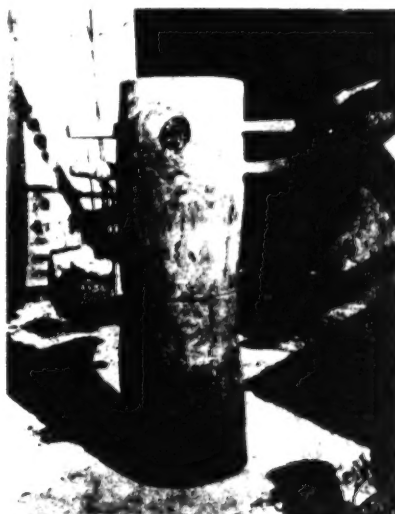
Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can
sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and
working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into
the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls [313]
until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for
several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood.
But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to
use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that
opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their
size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen [412] ●
imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo
with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby
passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little
girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too
absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother
looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's
hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this,
fool?" took the knife away.

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the [412]
yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many
6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences
of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to
a 9- or 10-year-old, "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt,"
but more often than not the child has already learned by himself.
One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a
sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane
he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-
sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother [264]
arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a
considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who
had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply.
"I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by
trying it out!" she said.

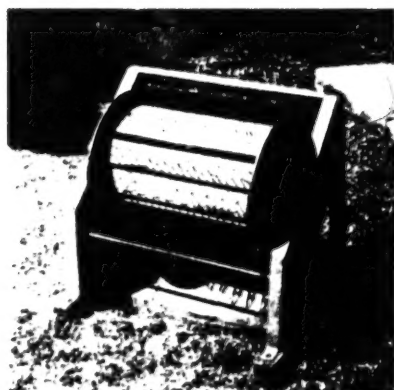
Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other house-
hold work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light [252]
a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [296]



chichiūshi



wooden rotary mill



dakkokki



wooden rotary mill

[facing p. 17]

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	55%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island ¹	15,719.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique

It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago.

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'.

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food.

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kurashi. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find

¹ The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find

178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.

[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced
against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling,
and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thir-
ties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took
their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935
by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most fami-
lies still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were re-
placed by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them
exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one opera-
tion at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle,
removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it
upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a
canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent
livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwa, had formerly been brought down from the
forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illus-
trates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940 ¹	1946 ²	1952 ³	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,425	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,547	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the excep-
tion that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This
is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.